

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03 SP-02 L-01

INR-05 PRS-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EUR-08 ACDA-10 /054 W

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P R 180701Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY TANANARIVE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7028

INFO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

CINCLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON ENG

COMIDEASTFOR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TANANARIVE 0430

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, MA

SUBJECT: POLITICAL CURRENTS IN MADAGASCAR

REF: TANANARIVE 0301 AND 0309 (NOTAL)

BEGIN SUMMARY: WHILE EXHIBITING PUBLIC STANCE OF EAST-WEST NEUTRALITY, GENERAL ANDRIAMHAZO HAS REAFFIRMED HIS PRO-AMERICANISM TO ME. HE PLANS STAY ON AS CHAIRMAN MILITARY DIRECTORY UNTIL 1977 ELECTIONS TO MAKE HIS FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS PREVAIL, BUT IS ENCOUNTERING DIFFICULT PRBLEMS WITHIN DIRETORY WITH OPPORTUNISTIC, AMBITIOUS RATSIRAKA, AS WELL AS WITH NAIVE YOUNGER OFFICERS. FOR UNDERSTANDABLE REASONS OF BOTH INTERNAL SECURITY AND HIS OWN POLITICAL POSITION, ANDRIAMHAZO IS CURRENTLY PREOCCUPIED WITH EQUIPMENT REQUIREMENTS OF MILITARY FORCES AND WITH PLANS HE IS FORMULATING FOR USE OF THESE FORCES TO ACCELERATE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MADAGASCAR. I AM FURTHER CONVINCED U.S. INTERESTS IN MADAGASCAR AND INDIAN OCEAN BEST SERVED BY GIVING HIM AS MUCH SUPPORT AS POSSIBLE. END SUMMARY.

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1. MALAGASY MILITARY DIRECTORY CHAIRMAN, GENERAL ANDRIAMAHAZO, SEPARATELY RECEIVED BOTH U.S. AND SOVIET AMBASSADORS MAR 14. I READ THIS AS INDICATION THAT ANDRIAMAHAZO INTENDS DISPLAY PUBLIC STANCE OF NEUTRALITY BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. I CONVINCED HOWEVER THAT HE WILL AIM TOWARD REAL NEUTRALITY, IN LIEU OF ONE-SIDED "NON-ALIGNMENT" WHICH HAS GENERALLY CHARACTERIZED MALAGASY INTERNATIONAL POSITION DURING PAST TWO AND HALF YEARS.

2. DURING MY CALL ON ANDRIAMAHAZO (WHICH I UNDERTOOK TO DISCUSS NASA STATION AND OTHER MATTERS), HE REAFFIRMED THAT HE IS PRO-AMERICAN, BUT NOTED HE IS ONE OF FEW SUCH IN MILITARY DIRECTORY. HE REFERRED CONFIDENTIALLY TO RATSIRAKA AS "ANTI-AMERICAN" ELEMENT WHO TALKS OF U.S. AS "IMPERIALIST AND CAPITALIST." LATER IN CONVERSATION ANDRIAMAHAZO MADE SOME EFFORT MODIFY HIS ASSERTION OF RATSIRAKA'S ANTI-AMERICANISM, AT LEAST IN SENSE BEING PRO-EAST, AND SAID LATTER'S POSITION IS TO ALIGN HIMSELF WITH SUCH RADICAL OAU COUNTRIES AS GUINEA, TANZANIA AND ALGERIA.

3. IT IS EVIDENT THAT ANDRIAMAHAZO IS TRYING REIN IN RATSIRAKA. BY FAILURE INCLUDE LATTER IN MILITARY DIRECTORY GROUPS WHICH RECEIVED NEW FRENCH AMBASSADOR ON PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS OR DIPLOMATIC MISSION CHIEFS IN THEIR COLLECTIVE CALL ON DIRECTORY, ANDRIAMAHAZO APPEARS BE TRYING DEMONSTRATE THAT RATSIRAKA PLAYS NO SPECIAL FOREIGN AFFAIRS ROLE IN DIRECTORY, DESPITE HIS PROMINENCE AS FOREIGN MINISTER IN RAMANANTSOA GOVERNMENT AND PRESS REPORT ABOUT TWO WEEKS AGO THAT HE IN CHARGE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS WITHIN DIRECTORY. ANDRIAMAHAZO, OBVIOUSLY WITH EYE TOWARD RATSIRAKA, ALSO GAVE ME ADVICE AS TO HOW TO GET SENSITIVE WRITTEN COMMUNICATIONS TO HIM WITHOUT PASSING THROUGH FOREIGN MINISTRY OR HAVING THEM BROUGHT TO ATTENTION OF OTHER MEMBERS OF MILITARY DIRECTORY.

4. ANDRIAMAHAZO INDICATED TO ME HE IS ALSO HAVING OTHER PROBLEMS WITHIN DIRECTORY, ARISING IN PART FROM NAIVETE OF MANY OF ITS OTHER OFFICERS. HE IS ATTEMPTING TO RUN DIRECTORY COLLEGIALLY, PROBABLY BECAUSE HE WANTS TO MAINTAIN UNITY OF ARMED FORCES AS WELL AS AVOID DIVISIONS WHICH  
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MIGHT APPEAR TO BE ETHNIC BETWEEN MERIAN AND C  
TIERS.

5. HIS CENTRAL POLICY PREOCCUPATION, HE STATED TO ME, IS USE OF ARMED FORCES FOR BOTH DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY. FROM HIS DISCUSSION OF THESE TOPICS IT SEEMED EVIDENT THAT HIS APPROACH IS DESIGNED BOTH TO TRY ASSURE POLITICAL PREDOMANCE OF HIMSELF AND HIS FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS

WITHIN ARMED FORCES AND TO FIND MEANS FOR RAPID ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MADAGASCAR.

6. HE WOULD LIKE GUADRUPLE PRESENT 24 CIVIC ACTION COMPANIES OF ARMED FORCES, AND STATION ONE IN EACH SUBPREFECTURE TO AID IN DEVELOPMENT AT VILLAGE LEVEL. HE ALSO WANTS SUBSTANTIALLY EXPAND MILITARY ENGINEERING UNITS SO THEY CAN CARRY OUT CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS THROUGHOUT MADAGASCAR.

7. THESE ACTIONS WOULD REQUIRE BIG INCREASE IN ARMED FORCES, AS WELL AS IMPORTANT RISE IN NUMBER OF OFFICERS GRADUATED FROM MILITARY ACADEMY. HE IS CONSIDERING REDUCING TERM FOR LATTER FROM 3 YEARS TO 1 YEAR, AND PUT 100 OFFICER CANDIDATES THROUGH ACCELERATED COURSE EACH YEAR (AS HE SAID FRENCH DID DURING WORLD WAR II). HE ALSO REFERRED TO POLITICAL DESIRABILITY OF ETHNIC EQUILIBRIUM IN EXPANSION OF ARMED FORCES.

8. WITH THIS APPROACH HE WOULD HOPE EXECUTE RAPIDLY DEVELOPMENT PLANS WHICH RAMANANTSOA AND RATSIMANDRAVA GOVERNMENTS HAD. HE INDICATED HE WOULD NEED SUPPORT OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS FOR THIS PURPOSE.

9. HE ALSO BROUGHT UP NEEDS OF ARMED FORCES FOR BOTH WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION. HE AND OTHER OFFICERS ARE OBVIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT SECURITY, BOTH PERSONAL AND NATIONAL, AFTER EXPERIENCE THEY HAVE JUST BEEN THROUGH: ASSASSINATION OF HEAD OF STATE BY DISSIDENTS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THEIR PERSONAL SECURITY, AND ARMED REBELLION BY DISSIDENT UNIT WHICH THEY HAD TO SUPPRESS BY FORCE. HE INDICATED THEY ALSO LOOKING TO FOREIGN SOURCES FOR ASSISTANCE FOR THEIR SECURITY NEEDS.

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10 SINCE ABOVE DISCUSSION IMPLIED THAT ANDRIAMAHAZO EXPECTED STAY ON AS HEAD OF MILITARY DIRECTORY, I RAISED QUESTION SPECIFICALLY WITH HIM. HE REPLIED HE WOULD FROM PERSONAL STANDPOINT PREFER LEAVE NEXT YEAR IF HE COULD FIND REPLACEMENT WHO HELD HIS PRO-WESTERN FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS, BUT IT SEEMED CLEAR THERE WAS NO ONE IN SIGHT WHO WOULD FILL THAT BILL. WE ALLUDED TO RATSIRAKA'S AMBITIONS AND HIS RADICAL INCLINATIONS, WITH ANDRIAMAHAZO INFERENTIALLY ACKNOWLEDGING THAT RATSIRAKA WOULD LIKE TO TAKE OVER. ANDRIAMAHAZO INDICATED HIS EXPECTATION WOULD BE TO REMAIN AS CHAIRMAN OF DIRECTORY UNTIL ELECTIONS ARE HELD IN 1977.

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ACTION AF-04

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P R 180701Z MAR 75

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7031

INFO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

CINCLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON ENG

COMIDEASTFOR

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11. THUS HE APPEARS BE THINKING IN TERMS OF COMPLETING 5-YEAR PERIOD FOR TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WHICH WAS APPROVED IN POPULAR REFERENDUM OF OCTOBER 1972. NATURE OF ELECTIONS IN 1977 IS UNCLEAR SINCE ANDRIAMAHAZO INFORMED ME CONFIDENTIALLY, BUT FIRMLY, HE DOES NOT INTEND PERMIT POLITICAL PARTIES TO OPERATE. EMBASSY BELIEVES THIS DECISION SHOULD BE READ FAVORABLY FROM U.S. STANDPOINT SINCE, WITH VIRTUAL DESTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST PARTY IN RECENT REBELLION, ONLY SUBSTANTIAL POLITICAL PARTY LEFT IS PRO-SOVIET AKFM.

12. MEANWHILE, I WOULD GUESS THAT SOME REORGANIZATION OF MILITARY DIRECTORY MAY BE IN OFFING. PURPOSE WOULD BE TO REDUCE ITS CUMBERSOME SIZE OF 18 AND IMPROVE QUALITY OF ITS HASTILY THROWN TOGETHER ELEMENTS WHOSE SOLE BASIS FOR INCLUSION IN MANY INSTANCES WAS AVAILABILITY IN TANANARIVE OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC ARMED FORCES REPRESENTATIVES ON NIGHT OF RATSIMANDRAVA ASSASSINATION. IN ADDITION TO ANDRIAMAHAZO'S OWN OBSERVATIONS ON PROBLEMS WITHIN DIRECTORY AS NOW CONSTITUTED, FRENCH AMBASSADOR TOLD ME MAR 13 THAT BOTH RATSIRAKA AND INFORMATION MINISTER MAJOR ANDRIAMAHOLISON

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HAD COMPLAINED TO HIM ABOUT DIRECTORY'S SIZE AND INEXPERIENCE  
OF MANY OF ITS MEMBERS. BOTH SEEMED INDICATE SOME  
CHANGES WOULD BE IN ORDER.

13. IN VIEW GENERAL ANDRIAMHAZO'S PRO-AMERICAN ATTITUDE,  
HIS EVIDENT DESIRE REMAIN AS HEAD OF MILITARY DIRECTORY  
TO MAKE HIS FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS PREVAIL, AND PROBLEMS HE  
HAVING WITHIN DIRECTORY WITH BOTH RATSIRAKA AND OTHERS, I  
BELIEVE IT VERY MUCH IN U.S. INTEREST SUPPORT HIM AS  
MUCH AS POSSIBLE. SEPARATE MESSAGES WILL REPORT ON NASA  
STATION OUTLOOK, MILITARY EQUIPMENT REQUIREMENTS OF  
MADAGASCAR, AND FUTURE MALAGASY POSITION ON SOUTH  
VIETNAMESE REPRESENTATION IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.  
MENDENHALL

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